

Sherif (1936) Experimental investigation of conformity to perceived group norm

Sherif used the autokinetic effect (an optical illusion where a fixed pinpoint of light in a completely dark room appears to move because of the eye movements). Half of the participants first watched the light alone and gave a verbal estimate of how much and in what direction the light moved. Sherif found that after a number of trials participants began to estimate based on their own frame of reference. Then the experiment continued in groups with three to four participants who took turns to estimate in random order. The participants now used each other's estimates as a frame of reference and these converged into more or less identical estimates. A group norm had developed, which participants conformed to once it had been established.

Then the other half of the participants performed the estimation task alone. Sherif found that participants continued to estimate based on the group norm when they did the task alone. The results showed that social norms emerge to guide behaviour when people find themselves in uncertain situations.

Strengths of Sherif's study

- Sherif's study is one of the most influential experiments in social psychology. It has generated a large amount of research.
- The study demonstrates how a group norm can be established and continue to influence a person's judgement even when the social influence is no longer present.

Limitations of Sherif's study

- The experiment was conducted in a laboratory. The task was artificial and ambiguous and this could influence the results.
- Ethics: participants were not informed about the purpose of the experiment (informed consent) but this was not the norm at the time of Sherif's experiment.

Asch (1951) Experimental investigation of conformity to the majority.

Aim To investigate whether perceived group pressure by a majority can influence a minority in an experimental setup that is not ambiguous.

Procedure Seven male college students were placed around two white cards.

One card had three lines (A, B, C) and another had one line. They had to say out loud which of the three lines on the right had the same length as the line on the left. There was one real participant (naive participant) in the experimental setup and six were confederates who were instructed to give unanimous wrong answers. This was done during 12 of the 18 trials in the experiment. A control group of 37 participants made the estimates alone for comparison.

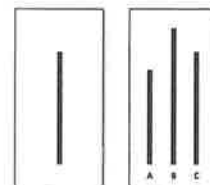
Results In the control group 35 participants did not make a single error so in total 0.7% errors were made compared to 37% errors in the experimental group.

Strengths of Asch's study

- A high degree of control ensures that a cause-effect relationship can be established between variables.
- Asch's results have been replicated several times so the results are reliable.
- The results of the experiment in terms of conformity rates can, to some extent, explain why people conform to social and cultural norms in real life.
- Conformity may be universal to some degree but conformity rates vary cross-culturally.

Limitations of Asch's study

- Laboratory experiments are artificial and somewhat difficult to generalize to real life (issues of ecological validity).
- The experiment was conducted in the USA with male students as participants so this affects generalization.
- The results can only explain how a majority may influence a minority but not the other way round.
- The participants were deceived about the purpose of the experiment and they were exposed to embarrassing procedures. This raises ethical issues.



FORMATION OF STEREOTYPES

The following ideas are often used to explain the origin of stereotypes: illusory correlation and social categorization.

Illusory correlation is a cognitive mechanism that leads a person to perceive a relationship between two events when in reality they are not related. This is a type of cognitive bias that takes place when two statistically infrequent events co-occur. The frequency of this co-occurrence is overestimated. It so happens that encountering a person from a minority group is statistically less frequent, and negative behaviours (such as crime) are also statistically less frequent than

acceptable behaviours. So when the two events (belonging to a minority group and negative behaviour) co-occur, the frequency of this co-occurrence is exaggerated, which gives rise to a negative stereotype about the minority group. For a classic study of illusory correlation see **Hamilton and Gifford (1976)**.

Social categorization has been shown to interact with illusory correlation in the formation of stereotypes. See **Johnson, Schaller and Mullen (2000)**.

RESEARCH Hamilton and Gifford (1976)—illusory correlation

Essential understanding

★ *Illusory correlation occurs during the encoding of serially presented stimuli.*

Aim

To investigate illusory correlations based on the co-occurrence of infrequent events.

Participants

104 undergraduates.

Procedure

Participants read a series of sentences describing desirable and undesirable behaviours performed by members of groups A and B. The groups were abstract because researchers did not want any previously existing associations or stereotypes to interfere with the task.

Table 3.3 summarizes the 39 sentences given to the participants.

	Group A	Group B	Total
Desirable behaviours	18	9	27
Undesirable behaviours	8	4	12
Total	26	13	39

Table 3.3

Based on this information, the following is clear.

- Group B was the minority (sentences featuring members of this group were half as likely).
- Undesirable behaviours in the sentences, just as in real life, were less frequent.
- The ratio of desirable to undesirable behaviours in group A and group B was exactly the same ($18/8 = 9/4$). So, there was no real correlation between behaviours and group membership.

Participants read these statements one by one, for example: "Bruce, a member of group A, did volunteer work for a church" (desirable behaviour).

After reading all the sentences, participants were asked to estimate how many members of each group performed desirable and undesirable behaviours.

Results

Participants overestimated the frequency with which members of the minority group performed negative behaviours.

Conclusion

There was a perceived association (correlation) between undesirable behaviour and group membership. The researchers argued that the illusory correlation was caused by event distinctiveness: encountering a member of the minority group is a distinct event, and so is encountering an instance of undesirable behaviour. Co-occurrence of two distinct events, according to Hamilton and Gifford, is overestimated.

LIMITATIONS OF ILLUSORY CORRELATION

Illusory correlation effects were found in many research studies with a variety of samples and experimental situations. However, limitations of these effects have been discovered as well.

- Illusory correlation effects disappear when judgments about groups are made **simultaneously** with the presentation of stimulus material. It is only when subjects retrieve information about groups from their memory that the effect occurs. So, illusory correlation

as a mechanism of stereotype formation is limited to situations where people evaluate groups in a memory-based fashion.

- Illusory correlation formation is also inhibited when there are excessive demands on one's attention. For example, illusory correlation effects disappeared in studies where there was **increased cognitive load** on the participants (Hilton, Hippel 1996).

RESEARCH

Johnson, Schaller and Mullen (2000)—social categorization in the formation of stereotypes

Essential understanding

★ *Social categorization enhances the formation of illusory correlation.*

Procedure

A procedure like the one used in Hamilton and Gifford's (1976) study was combined with a social categorization manipulation.

Participants either knew nothing about their group membership or learned that they were a member of one of the groups.

Those who were assigned to one of the groups learned about their group membership either before or after

the stimulus presentation (sentences with desirable or undesirable behavioural).

Results

Social categorization into the minority group before stimulus presentation eliminated the illusory correlation.

Social categorization into the minority group after stimulus presentation had no effect on the formation of stereotype.

Social categorization into the majority group (either before or after stimulus presentation) had little effect on illusory correlations.

EFFECTS OF STEREOTYPES ON BEHAVIOUR

There is a range of effects of stereotypes on behaviour.

- First, people who hold a stereotype may influence the behaviour of the stereotyped group. An example of this is found in the phenomenon of self-fulfilling prophecy and demonstrated in the study of Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968).

- Second, members of the stereotyped group itself may inadvertently reinforce the stereotype by changing their behaviour as a result of increased anxiety or apprehension. This has been demonstrated in research of stereotype threat. See Steele and Aronson (1995).

RESEARCH

Chiu (1972)—cognitive styles in Chinese and US students

Essential understanding

★ *There are cultural differences in the way children process information (cognitive style). The cognitive style of Chinese students is more holistic and contextual, whereas that of US students is more analytic and categorical. This may be explained by the differences in socialization practices and cultural values.*

Aim

To carry out a cross-cultural comparison of cognitive styles in Chinese and US students.

Participants

221 Chinese students in grades 4 and 5 from rural communities—all students came from middle-class families; 316 US students of the same grades sampled from rural districts of Indiana, comparable to the Chinese sample in terms of the socio-economic status.

Method

A 28-item cognitive-style test was used. Each item consisted of three pictures (for example, "cow", "chicken" and "grass"). The task was to select any two out of the three objects that were alike and went together, leaving the third one out.

Results

- US students scored significantly higher than Chinese students in **analytic** style: they grouped objects more often on the basis of separate components, for example, classifying human figures together because "they are both holding a gun".

- US students also scored significantly higher in the **categorical** style, for example a cow and a chicken were grouped together "because they are both animals" (leaving grass unpaired).
- On the contrary, Chinese students demonstrated a much higher prevalence of the **contextual** style, for example, classifying pictures together on the basis of contextual commonality. When given "cow", "chicken" and "grass" as the three objects, they would group cow and grass together because the cow eats grass, and the chicken would be left out.

Conclusion

Chinese students process stimuli holistically rather than analytically. They prefer to categorize objects on the basis of interdependence or relationships, while US students prefer to focus on components of the stimulus and categorize on the basis of membership in abstract groups.

Notes and evaluation

Chiu suggested that cognitive styles are end products of socialization processes. He carried out a review of published evidence and reported the following cultural differences in socialization relevant in the context of this research.

- Chinese parents emphasize mutual dependence in the family (as opposed to US parents who emphasize independence).
- Chinese students are more tradition-oriented ("living under their ancestors' shadows").
- Chinese students are more situation-oriented and sensitive to the environment.

RESEARCH Briley, Morris and Simonson (2005)—decision-making in bilingual individuals

Essential understanding

★ *Language-induced shifts in bicultural individuals influence their decision-making.*

Aim

To investigate the effect of language manipulation (Cantonese versus English) in bicultural individuals on decision-making processes.

Participants

Chinese undergraduates at a major Hong Kong university where all courses are taught in English. English and Cantonese are both official languages in Hong Kong, taught from early childhood. Students in this population are fluent in both languages and have substantial exposure to both cultures.

Method

Experiment, independent measures design; IV was language, DV was decision-making strategies.

Procedure

Study 1 (61 participants) involved **choice deferral**. Such decisions are relevant in situations such as considering the purchase of a new television to replace the old one that still

works. A person who is deferring a choice, while choosing from the new options, will decide to buy none of them in an attempt to avoid potential disappointment. Such decisions are more in line with traditional Chinese values than western values.

An example of the decision-making scenario given to the participants was choosing between two restaurants. Each of the restaurants had two favourable features (the same for both the restaurants) and two unique unfavourable features. By making the unfavourable features unique to the options, researchers expected participants to focus on the potential losses.

Option A	Option B
Long wait (45 min)	Good variety of foods on the menu
Good variety of foods on the menu	Staff is not particularly friendly
High quality of food (4 stars)	View is not very attractive
Service is very slow	High quality of food (4 stars)

Table 3.4

Source: Briley, Morris and Simonson (2005: 356)

In each scenario participants could choose option A, option B or neither. If they chose neither it was referred to as "choice deferral".

Study 2 (90 participants) involved **compromise choices**. It included shopping scenarios with two extreme options and one compromise alternative. For example, in one of the scenarios participants had to choose one of three cameras: the cameras were characterized by two dimensions; options A and C had high values on one dimension and low values on the other dimension, while option B had moderate values along both dimensions (that is, option B was the compromise choice).

	Reliability rating of expert panel	Maximum autofocus range
Typical range	40–70	12–28 mm
Option A	45	25 mm
Option B	55	20 mm
Option C	65	15 mm

Table 3.5

Source: Briley, Morris and Simonson (2005: 356)

Participants were randomly split into two groups. In one of them the experiment was conducted in English, in the other in Chinese.

Results

- Choice deferral was more likely when the language of communication was Chinese (44% of participants in this condition chose neither of the two options, compared to 29% in the English language condition).
- Participants who were in the Chinese language condition were more likely to select compromise options: in the camera scenario 77% of participants chose the compromise option when the experiment was conducted in Chinese and only 53% chose the compromise option when it was conducted in English.

Conclusion

Culture affects decision-making processes through language; even the same bilingual individuals may prefer to make different decisions depending on which language they are speaking.

RESEARCH Hofstede (1973)—the multinational survey

Aim

To identify dimensions underlying cultural differences in values, attitudes and behaviour.

Participants

117,000 IBM employees (Hofstede founded the personnel research department of IBM Europe).

Method and procedure

A worldwide survey of values was conducted between 1967 and 1973. Results of the survey were statistically analysed to identify hidden dimensions underlying observed patterns of responses (a statistical technique known as factor analysis).

In order to confirm original findings and to generalize them to other populations, a series of follow-up studies were conducted between 1990 and 2002. The samples included commercial airline pilots, students and civil service managers. Around this time countries were also profiled against the value dimensions (value scores were established for each country).

Results

Originally Hofstede identified four dimensions: individualism versus collectivism, uncertainty avoidance, power distance, masculinity versus femininity. Later research refined the theory and added two more dimensions: long-term versus short-term orientation and indulgence versus self-restraint.

Cultural dimension: collectivism versus individualism
Wei et al. (2001) survey on collectivism vs. individualism on conflict resolution styles

Aim To investigate the extent to which the dimension of individualism vs. collectivism influenced conflict resolution communication styles.

Procedure A group of 600 managers working in companies in Singapore was randomly selected for this survey. The participants were divided into four groups: Japanese, Americans, Chinese Singaporeans working in multinational companies and Chinese Singaporeans working in local companies. Questionnaires and correlational analysis were used to find possible relationships between scores on cultural dimension and conflict resolution style.

Results Generally, the higher the score in the individualist dimension the more likely the manager was to adopt a dominating conflict resolution style. American managers (individualist dimension) were generally more likely to adopt a

dominating conflict resolution style and less likely to adopt an avoiding conflict resolution style than Asian managers. Asian managers did not always adopt an avoidant conflict resolution style as predicted by the collectivism-individualism dimension. In some cases, American managers who had been in Singapore for several years had adopted a more Asian conflict resolution style.

Discussion of results The collectivism vs. individualism dimension in relation to conflict resolution styles was only somewhat confirmed. The researchers conclude that conflict resolution styles are complex and cannot be reduced to cultural dimensions alone. For example, differences found *within* the groups of Asian managers were larger than between groups.

Evaluation: The survey used a large and representative cross-cultural sample of managers in Singapore so the results can be generalized. The study relies on self-reports so there may be issues of reliability of the data but overall the results are reliable.

Cultural dimension: long-term orientation versus short-term orientation

Basset (2004) qualitative research to compare perception of conflict resolution in Australian and Chinese students

Aim To investigate differences in Chinese and Australian students' perception of conflict resolution in relation to (1) the collectivist vs. individualist dimension and (2) long-term vs. short-term orientation.

Procedure The investigation was a qualitative cross-cultural study. The students were bachelor students of business and management. They were asked to analyse a potential conflict

situation between a Japanese supervisor and a Canadian visiting assistant teacher. The same question was answered by 30 students (15 Chinese and 15 Australian), each from their own cultural perspective: "Discuss how this conflict might be resolved in China (or Australia)."

Results Generally, the data confirmed Hofstede's individualist and collectivist dimensions but not all data could be explained by this. As for long-term orientation vs. short-term orientation, the Chinese data confirmed the importance of this dimension in understanding behaviour.

RESEARCH

Trainor *et al* (2012)—active learning as the mechanism of musical enculturation

Essential understanding

★ *Enculturation is the result of active learning.*

Trainor *et al* (2012) studied the phenomenon of musical enculturation. Music is an integral part of any culture, and enculturation necessarily entails becoming sensitive to music from one's culture. One example of cultural sensitivity to music would be how the same voice timbre may be considered pleasant in one culture and aversive in another.

Aim

To test the idea that musical enculturation occurs through active learning.

Method and procedure

38 western infants who were 6 months old were randomly assigned to one of two conditions:

- six months of active participatory music class
- six months of a class in which they experienced music passively while playing with toys.

DV 1 was sensitivity to western tonality. It was measured by examining infants' preferences to two versions of a sonatina by Thomas Atwood (1765–1838): the tonal version and the atonal version. The tonal version was the original while the atonal version had additional accidentals added. Infant preferences were measured in a head-turn preference procedure in which a light was flashed,

illuminating an interesting toy, and once the infant looked at the toy, the music started playing. The music stopped once the infant looked away. It was assumed that the longer a child looks at the toy while the music is playing, the more the child likes the music.

DV 2 was social development of the infants. Making music with other people is a cultural activity involving interpersonal interaction, so it was predicted that infants in the active classes would show more social development than infants in the passive classes. Social development of the infants was measured by a questionnaire given to their parents.

Results

- Children in the active class group demonstrated a preference to the tonal version of the sonatina, while children in the passive group did not prefer one version to the other.
- The questionnaire showed that infants in the active condition by the age of 12 months showed significantly less distress to limitations, less distress when confronted with novel stimuli, more smiling and laughter, and easier soothability.

Conclusion

Active music making in a social context involving infants and parents promotes musical enculturation of infants, including their sensitivity to cultural tonality and social development.

RESEARCH Odden and Rochat (2004)—observational learning as the mechanism of enculturation in some cultures

Essential understanding

★ *Participatory learning might not be a universal mechanism of enculturation.*

Aim

To investigate the role of observational learning as a mechanism of children's enculturation in non-western cultural contexts.

Background

- Participatory learning is learning that occurs as a result of a child's active involvement in a learning activity. This idea is the legacy of Lev Vygotsky's influential views in developmental psychology. See "7.1.2 Cognitive development".
- Observational learning is learning that occurs when the child observes everyday activities without directly participating in them. This idea is the legacy of Albert Bandura's research. See "3.1.2 Social cognitive theory".
- Traditionally in theories of enculturation, participatory learning was believed to be the leading mechanism; observational learning was acknowledged as a starting point, but never the core process of cultural learning.

Method

Longitudinal naturalistic observation of children in key contexts of village life; semi-structured interviews with caretakers, teachers, pastors and chiefs; parental belief questionnaires. One of the researchers lived in the village for 20 months.

they been fishing under the supervision of an adult who would correct their mistakes. For example, if spear fishing was used, a boy would accompany his father, but there would only be one spear available and the child would never use it. Then after a certain age children would simply borrow the fishing equipment and start fishing by themselves.

- Knowledge of the intricate societal hierarchy, ritual practice and cultural concepts such as power and authority was also acquired in the same way.

Conclusion

Each culture may emphasize a different blend of mechanisms of enculturation. In the Samoan context

Participants

28 children aged 4–12 and their parents from a rural village in Samoa. Samoan society is hierarchical and socially stratified. This stratification influences practically all social practices.

Results

- Observations and interviews showed high specificity of Samoan attitudes towards education and enculturation. As there was a high distance to authority (power distance), questioning in class was discouraged as it was viewed as a sign of disrespect to the adult. Children were largely left to learn things on their own, and adults did not try to engage them or motivate them. Caretakers believed that children learn via observing and listening to their elders.
- Samoan houses are often built without walls (due to the hot and humid climate), and activities of nearby households may be easy to observe. Children and adults can freely observe the activities of others since the concept of privacy is not established in the society and can even be viewed as a form of secrecy or immorality.
- By age 15, adolescents spend a significant amount of time doing chores (such as washing clothes, feeding domesticated animals, child care, cooking). However, parents were never seen explaining the chore to the child or explicitly teaching the child in any other way. The same was true for fishing. By the age of 12, children were quite skilled fishermen, but never in their lives had

observational learning plays a central role in children's enculturation.

Notes

These results are important for educators, especially in a multicultural classroom situation. Children who grow up in an environment that emphasizes observational learning as a mechanism of enculturation may be at a disadvantage in a western classroom which is typically focused on direct instruction, scaffolding and active participation.

RESEARCH Demorest et al (2008)—the influence of enculturation on musical memory

Essential understanding

★ *Enculturation influences cognition (cognitive schemas) on a deep level.*

Participants

150 trained and untrained participants from the USA and Turkey.

Procedure

Participants listened to several novel musical excerpts from both familiar and unfamiliar cultures (western, Turkish and Chinese) and then completed a recognition memory task.

Results

- Participants were significantly better at remembering novel music from their native culture.
- Musical expertise did not correlate with this result.

Conclusion

Enculturation influences musical memory on a deep level (cognitive schemas for musical information).

Note

In the broad sense, cognition also counts as "behaviour", so this research study may be used to demonstrate the effects of enculturation on behaviour.

RESEARCH Kim and Omizo (2006)—enculturation, acculturation and identity

Essential understanding

★ *Enculturation interacts with acculturation to influence identity.*

In the context of their research, acculturation is the process of adapting to the dominant group (European American), while enculturation is the process of retaining the norms of the indigenous group (Asian American).

Aim

To examine the relationship between Asian American college students' enculturation and acculturation in relation to the development of identity.

Method

Correlational study. All variables were measured through psychometrically validated questionnaires. Enculturation was operationalized as engaging in Asian American cultural behaviours; acculturation was operationalized as engaging in European American cultural behaviours.

Participants

156 Asian American college students aged 18–24.

Results

- Acculturation and enculturation scores did not correlate significantly. This lends support to Berry *et al*'s (1997) model where acculturation and enculturation are presented as two independent dimensions and the combination of these two dimensions results in four distinct acculturation practices (see "3.3.2 Acculturation").
- Both enculturation and acculturation were related positively to participants' perception that they are good and worthy members of their cultural group.
- Enculturation was associated with increased positive feelings towards the Asian American social group and the belief that being a member of the Asian American group is an important aspect of one's self-concept.
- Acculturation was associated with self-efficacy, cognitive flexibility and the belief that others view the Asian American group positively.

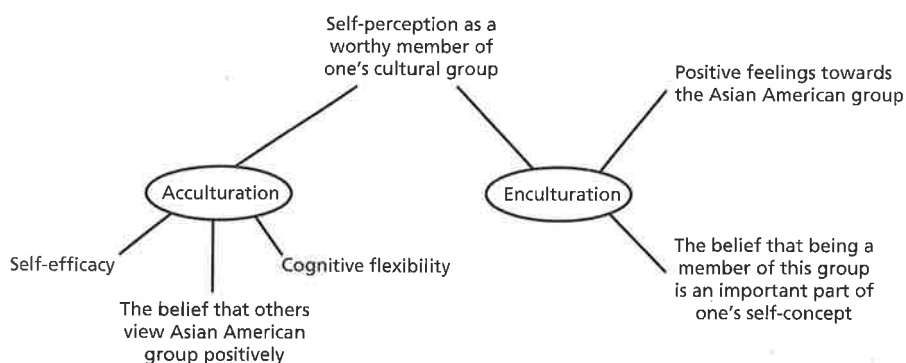


Figure 3.2 Results of Kim and Omizo (2006)

Conclusion

Enculturation and acculturation, being two relatively independent processes, may both contribute positively to the development of identity.

Notes

This study has all typical limitations of a self-report study with college students. Generalizability of findings is limited

to a specific population of Asian American college students. Results are correlational, so no cause-effect relationship can be inferred from the data. Finally, the credibility of results depends on the psychometric properties of the questionnaires used to measure the variables.

RESEARCH

Buchan et al (2009)—globalization and cooperation

Essential understanding

★ *Globalization influences behaviour. The more individuals or a whole society are included in the global network of interactions, the more likely they are to choose cooperation strategies that prioritize the global over the local.*

- (b) Globalization strengthens people's cosmopolitan attitudes by weakening their identification with their group of origin.

Method and procedure

- To measure cooperation strategies the researchers used multilevel sequential cooperation experiments. In a typical trial subjects would be given 10 tokens and required to distribute the tokens among three accounts—personal, local and world.
- Each token placed in the personal account was saved.
- Each token placed in the local account was added to local contributions of three other individuals from the same country, the sum was multiplied by two and each of the four participants received 1/4 of that amount. For example, if Mike placed one token in the local account, and so did three other people from his country, the total would become $4 \times 2 = 8$, and each of the four participants would get two tokens.
- Each token placed in the world account was added to the contributions from the same three local people plus two other groups of four people from different countries. The sum was tripled by the experimenter, and the participant received 1/12 of the resulting amount. Placing tokens in the world account is potentially the most profitable decision, but only if it is shared by other players—so it is the riskiest.
- In these experiments the amount of an individual's contributions to the world account was taken as an operationalization of cosmopolitan interests (cosmopolitan cooperation strategy). Contributions to the local account were taken as an operationalization of parochial interests (parochial cooperation strategy).
- Globalization was measured by a standardized questionnaire (the Globalization Index) which asks a variety of questions tapping into the degree to which an individual takes part in the network of global economic, social and cultural relations. An example of a question is "How often do you watch a television programme or a movie from a different country?"

Aim

To investigate the effects of globalization on cooperation strategies. In this, two alternative hypotheses were investigated.

- (a) Globalization prompts reactionary movements, and large-scale cooperation takes the form of defending the interests of one's ethnic, racial or language group.

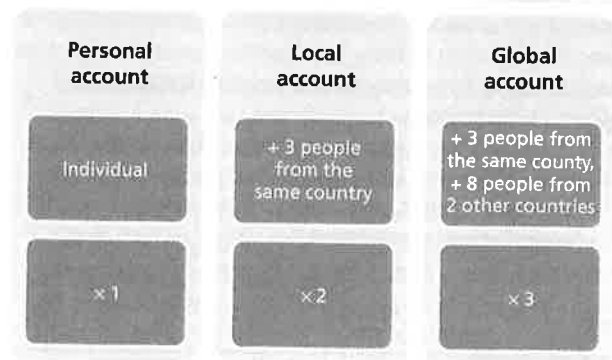


Figure 3.4 Personal, local and global accounts

Participants

Samples from six countries were used: the USA, Italy, Russia, Argentina, South Africa and Iran. There were approximately 190 participants per country.

Results

- The study lent support to the hypothesis that globalization strengthens people's cosmopolitan attitudes. People who had higher scores on the Globalization Index were also more likely to cooperate on the global level—that is, contribute more to the world account in the cooperation experiment.
- In order of increasingly cosmopolitan (and decreasingly parochial) cooperation the countries ranked as follows: Iran, South Africa, Argentina, Russia, Italy, the USA.

Conclusion

Higher levels of globalization are associated with stronger cosmopolitan cooperation strategies—a preference of global interests to the local interests. Globalization probably influences an individual to reduce perceived social distance with geographically remote others.

THEORY

BERRY (2008)—GLOBALIZATION AND ACCULTURATION

Essential understanding

★ *Globalization is closely connected to acculturation. In its turn, choosing one of the four acculturation strategies (integration, assimilation, separation or marginalization) is the result of the interaction between the influences of the local culture and the global culture. The choice of acculturation strategies is fateful for the outcomes of globalization.*

Acculturation and globalization

Berry (2008) describes how the concepts of acculturation and globalization are related to each other. Both acculturation and globalization are initiated by intercultural contact and lead to change both on the individual and on the cultural level.

Assumptions that need to be rejected

Two assumptions used to be predominant in research and popular thinking.

contact that provides the starting point for acculturation. This process, according to Berry, can have four possible outcomes, each outcome being the ultimate result of the adopted acculturation strategy.

- Globalization will lead to a homogeneous world culture, most likely based on the values and norms of the dominant cultures, with non-dominant societies adopting (**assimilating**) these norms.

- Acculturation and globalization induce more change in non-dominant peoples.
- The ultimate result of these processes is the loss of uniqueness of non-dominant group members and establishing a homogeneous society.

Both of these assumptions have been challenged. Berry's two-dimensional model of acculturation strategies, for example, incorporates the opportunity for multicultural societies to be established on the basis of integration as the acculturation strategy that embraces both the original culture and the new culture.

Possible outcomes of globalization

Berry (2008) claims that we need to differentiate between the process of globalization and the outcomes of this process. Globalization as a process refers to societies engaging in international contact, establishing an interconnected network of relations. Globalization is the

- Mutual change will occur where societies share some common qualities but at the same time retain unique distinctive features (**integration**).
- Non-dominant groups will end up rejecting the growing influence of the dominant societies (**separation**).
- Globalization can lead to the destruction of non-dominant cultures, leaving these groups essentially with no culture (**marginalization**).

RESEARCH Adams (2003)—do cultural values of the USA and Canada converge over time?

Essential understanding

★ *Supporting Berry's (2008) theoretical framework, it has been demonstrated that the outcome of globalization is not necessarily convergence of cultural values.*

Aim

To investigate whether cultural values of Canadians would gradually assimilate US values. (Note that the USA is the most dominant society—for example, most of the films shown in Canada are US films).

Method

A survey consisting of 86 value statements.

Participants

Representative samples from both populations with a total of 14,000 participants.

Procedure

Adams (2003) studied cultural values of citizens of the USA and Canada at three points in time: 1992, 1996 and 2000.

Results

The initial expectations were not confirmed.

- The cultural value profiles of the two countries did not converge with the course of time—they remained distinctly different, and in some cases the differences became even larger.
- An example is the statement "The father of the family must be master of his own house". The percentage agreeing with this statement in the Canadian national sample from 1992 to 2000 decreased from 26% to 18%, while the percentage agreeing in the US national sample increased from 42% to 49%.

Conclusion

Globalization is not necessarily a straightforward process in which the dominant culture subsumes non-dominant cultures. The outcomes of globalization depend on the acculturation strategy chosen.

HOW DOES GLOBALIZATION INFLUENCE ADOLESCENTS' IDENTITY?

Essential understanding

★ Also in accordance with Berry's (2008) theoretical framework, the influence of globalization on identity may differ depending on the strategy chosen.

Arnett (2002) argues that the primary psychological influence of globalization is on individuals' identity—how individuals think about themselves in relation to social groups. He also claims that the most affected group is adolescents: they are still discovering their identity, and they are usually more interested in global media (such as music and television), which is the driving force of globalization. He distinguishes **four main influences** of globalization on adolescents' identity.

- Many people in the world develop a **bicultural identity**: part of their identity stems from the local culture, and another part from the global culture. This is similar to the kind of identity developed by immigrants and members of ethnic minority groups.
- **Identity confusion** may be increasing, especially among adolescents in non-western societies. This happens if the development of a bicultural identity has not been

successful. For these individuals, the norms of the global culture undermine their belief in the local culture. At the same time, the global culture for them is too alien and out of reach. Identity confusion may lead to further problems such as substance use, depression and suicide.

- In response to globalization some people choose to form **self-selected cultures** with like-minded individuals and develop an identity that is not dependent on the global culture. Self-selected cultures may be diverse, ranging from religious fundamentalism to musical subcultures. What unifies them is an attempt to find an identity that is different from the mainstream global culture.
- The age period for identity formation increases, and **identity explorations**, which used to end typically by age 18, are being extended to a later life period (18–25).

In conclusion, Arnett (2002) points out that identity in today's world is based less on prescribed social roles and more on individual choices. Some people react to this with identity confusion, but others succeed in embracing the diversity and assimilating both the global and the local culture.